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ATRICK

HAMILTON

BY

WILLIAM DALLMANN

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ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

PATRICK HAMILTON



PATRICK HAMILTON.

After a Medallion Portrait by W. L. Ormsby.

From Portraits of the Principal Reformers.
New York, Charles Wells, 1836.

Patrick Hamilton

The First Lutheran Preacher and Martyr of Scotland

By WILLIAM DALLMANN

THIRD PRINTING

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- PROF. MITCHELL'S *Scottish Reformation*.
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PROF. LORIMER'S *Patrick Hamilton*.
JOHN KNOX'S *Hist. Reform. in Scotland*.
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PATRICK HAMILTON.

I.

Hamilton's Birth.

Patrick Hamilton was born near Glasgow, about 1504. His father was Sir Patrick Hamilton, son of Lord of Hamilton and Princess Mary, daughter of King James II of Scotland. Sir Patrick was the first of Scottish knights when Scottish chivalry was in the height of its glory. The mother of our hero was Catherine Stewart, daughter of the Duke of Albany, second son of King James II. So, then, Hamilton was of royal blood, both on his father's and on his mother's side.

On September 9, 1533, King James IV and Scotland's flower fell on the fatal field of Flodden, and Patrick's uncle, the Duke of Albany, became Regent of the realm during the minority of James V. Another uncle, the first earl of Arran, was one of the most powerful nobles in the kingdom.

Brought up among relatives of rank and refinement, of manly virtues and scholarly

accomplishments, it is no wonder the first Reformer of Scotland became distinguished for high breeding and courtesy and for an intense love of all humane and liberal studies. With divine grace added to the gifts of noble birth and careful education, he became the most zealous and most courteous of evangelists; a confessor of the truth; mild and modest in manners, firm in spirit and principles; a martyr learned and cultivated as well as fervent and devoted.

II.

Hamilton Goes to Paris.

When Hamilton was only fourteen years old, the influence of his powerful family made him Abbot of Ferne, and the income gave him means to study abroad. He entered the College of Montaigu in Paris, where John Major, the great Scottish light, was teaching at the time, and in 1520 he became a Master of Arts.

During Hamilton's residence on the banks of the Seine, "an impulse was propagated to the University from a soul immensely more potent and world-subduing than the polished and timid scholar of

Rotterdam. In 1519 the strong hand of Luther knocked violently at its gates, and the sound went through all its studious halls and cloisters," Lorimer writes.

"In that year a great many copies were brought to Paris of the Leipzig Disputation between Luther and Eck, twenty of which Magister John Nicolas, quaestor of the Gallic nation, purchased on the 20th of January, by appointment of the nation, for the use of those who were deputed by the university to examine the book, and of any others who might wish to report their opinion thereon to the university," says Bulaeus in *Historia Universitatis Parisiensis*.

All Europe waited anxiously for the decision. The issue was doubtful, for Lutheran votes were not wanting even in the Sorbonne. At length the champions of the old darkness prevailed over the friends of the new light. The university solemnly decreed, on the 15th of April, 1521, in the presence of students from every country in Christendom, that Luther was a heretic, and that his work should be publicly thrown into the flames.

Hamilton Returns to Scotland.

In a few months there arrived in Paris "A Defense of Martin Luther against the Furibund Decree of the Parisian Theologasters" from the pen of young Philip Melanchthon of Wittenberg, as pungent as it was polished, and as contemptuous as it was elegant, and it made an immense sensation.

From Paris, Hamilton went to the University of Louvain, in Holland, most likely to study under Erasmus.

III.

Hamilton Returns to Scotland.

When Constantine the Great would enrich his cathedral at Constantinople with the bones of St. Andrew, a vision told St. Regulus to take the relics from Patras in Achaia and sail west. He did so, and was wrecked on the shores of Scotland, October 29, 370. Thus St. Andrew became the patron saint of that country, and the place of the wreck grew into the seat of the Primate of the Scottish Church, became the Vatican of Scotland. Also, it became the most picturesque and the most venerable of Scotland's university towns, and

the mother of them all. Just by the way, St. Andrews is also the world's headquarters of the great game of golf.

Of this famous university Patrick Hamilton became a member on June 9, 1523, the same day that the one great Scotch schoolman, John Major, was received as Principal of St. Mary's College. On October 3, 1524, Hamilton joined the Faculty of Arts. Though an abbot, he never wore the garb of a monk.

Here Hamilton composed a mass for nine voices in honor of the angels, sung in the cathedral, directed by the composer himself.

IV.

Lutheran Books Enter Scotland.

While attending on the Duke of Albany in Edinburgh, before 1523, M. de la Tour vented Lutheran opinions, and in 1527 suffered for heresy at Paris.

At the end of 1524, books of Luther were brought into Scotland and created a sensation, as they did everywhere. Garwin Dunbar, the old bishop of Aberdeen, was the first to find it out, discovering one day a

volume of Luther in his own town. He was in great fear when he saw that the fiery darts hurled by the heretic of Germany were crossing into Scotland. As like discoveries were made in St. Andrews, Linlithgow, and other places, the affair was brought before Parliament.

On July 17, 1525, when James V was fourteen years old and managing affairs himself, the clergy procured the passing of the following act: "Forasmuch as the damnable opinions of heresy are spread in divers countries by the heretic Luther and his disciples, . . . therefore, that no manner of person, stranger, that happens to arrive with the ships within any part of this realm, bring with them any books or works of said Luther's, his disciples or servants — dispute or rehearse his heresies or opinions, unless it be to the confusion thereof, under pain of escheating of their ships and goods, and putting of their persons in prison. And that this act will be published and proclaimed throughout this realm at all ports and burghs of the same, so that they may allege no ignorance thereof."

In August of the same year another act

states that "sundry strangers and others within the diocese of Aberdeen have books of that heretic Luther, and favor his errors and false opinions, in contravention of our Act of Parliament lately made in our last parliament," and asks, "that you confiscate their goods."

In a short time the number of Lutherans became so alarming that in 1527 an additional clause provided for the punishment of Scotch Lutherans the same as foreigners. Luther was at length at the gates of the National Church. Luther's books and opinions — those arrows of the mighty — had already found their way into not a few Scottish hearts and homes. As early as 1525 traders from Leith, Dundee, and Montrose purchased Tyndale's English New Testament, "recently invented by Martin Luther," as some monks declared, in the marts of Flanders and Holland, and sold them in Edinburgh, and mostly in St. Andrews. All that was wanting now was the voice of the living preacher. The first that God prepared and produced was Patrick Hamilton.

V.

Hamilton Teaches Lutheran Doctrines.

In 1526 Hamilton began to declare openly his new convictions, in the cathedral and elsewhere, and soon the report of his heresy was carried to the ears of the Archbishop. In 1527 Beaton "made faithful inquisition during Lent," and found Hamilton "infamed with heresy, disputing, holding, and maintaining divers heresies of Martin Luther and his followers, repugnant to the faith"; whereupon he proceeded to "decern him" to be formally summoned and accused.

That meant burning, as Paul Craw, the Hussite preacher, had been burned at St. Andrews in 1433.

VI.

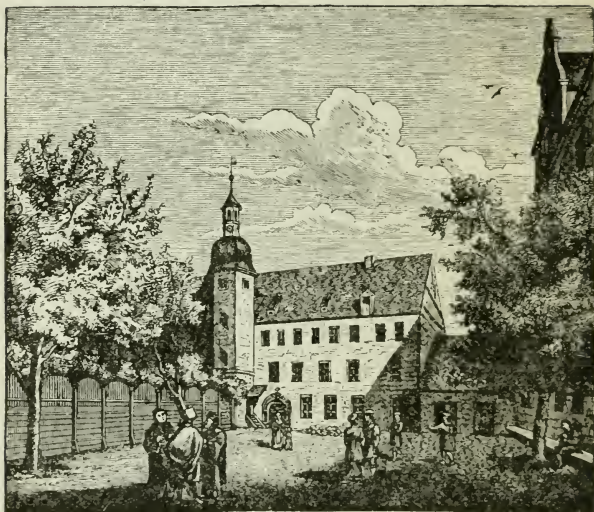
Hamilton Flees to Germany.

Hamilton was not ready just yet for the crown of martyrdom, and so he went to Germany, in April, 1527, accompanied by John Hamilton, of Linlithgow, and Gilbert Wynram, of Edinburgh.

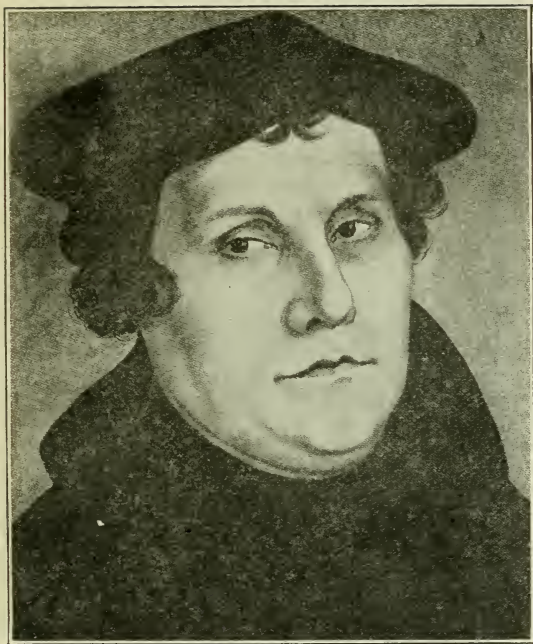
"He passed to the schools in Germany, for then the fame of Wittenberg was greatly

divulged in all countries; where, by God's providence, he became familiar with those lights and notable servants of Jesus Christ at that time, Martin Luther, Philip Melanchthon, and Francis Lambert," says Knox.

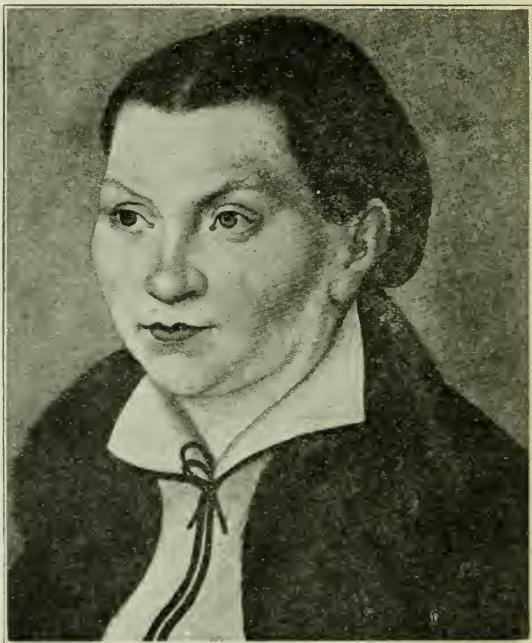
According to Lorimer, at Wittenberg the young Scotch abbot found the monasteries deserted, and Luther, once a monk, living happily in a few rooms of the empty Augustinian cloister, with his new-married wife, a converted and fugitive nun, Catharina von Bora. He saw the churches of the city purged of the old superstitions. He heard the Gospel-hymns of Luther sung in loud and fervent chorus by crowded congregations. He saw the excellent pastor, John Bugenhagen — Pomeranus — standing in the pulpit of the ancient parish church, and preaching the Word of Life to the zealous burghers. He listened with admiration to the eloquence of Luther, poured forth upon select congregations of courtiers and academics from the pulpit of the Castle Church. In both churches he saw the Sacrament of the Lord's body and blood administered to the communicants in



LUTHER'S HOME.



MARTIN LUTHER, 1529.
After Cranach, in Milan.



KATE LUTHER, 1529.
After Cranach, in Milan.

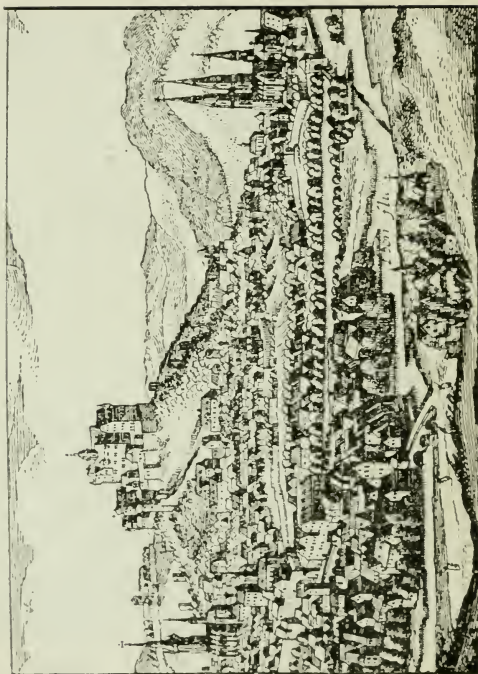
both kinds. Luther's New Testament was read everywhere. The little city was crowded to inconvenience with the multitude of students who flocked from all parts of Europe to sit at the feet of Luther and Melanchthon.

VII.

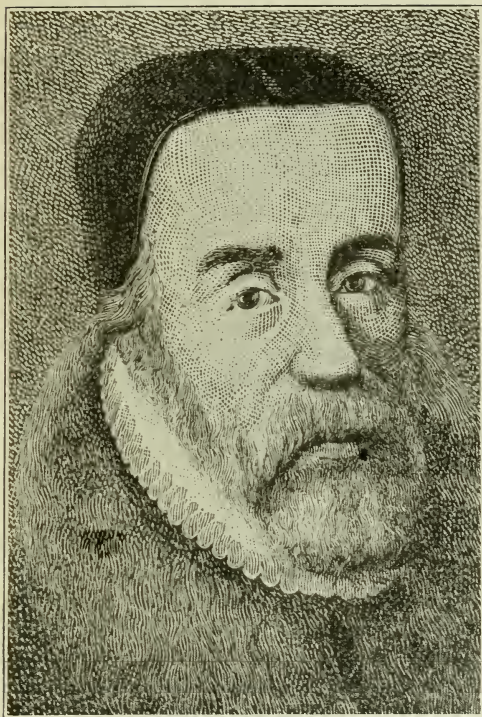
Hamilton Goes to Marburg.

When the pest broke out in Wittenberg, the Scots went to the banks of the Lahn, where Philip of Hessen opened the new University of Marburg, May 30, 1527, and they enrolled their names in the new album among the hundred and four *cives* of the academic body; they were numbers 37, 38, and 39.

The head of the theological faculty was Francis Lambert, of Avignon, the first French monk to be converted by Luther's writings. He studied over a year under Luther at Wittenberg, and later drew up the program of the Hessian reformation in his "Paradoxes," the first of which reads: "All that is *deformed* ought to be *reformed*. The Word of God *alone* teaches us what ought to be so, and all reform effected otherwise is vain."



MARBURG AND PHILIP'S CASTLE.



WILLIAM TYNDALE.
Painting in Hertford College, Oxford.

Hamilton Holds the First Debate at Marburg.

Lambert says Hamilton's "learning was of no common kind for his years, and his judgment in divine truth was eminently clear and solid. His object in visiting the University was to confirm himself more abundantly in the truth; and I can truly say that I have seldom met with any one who conversed on the Word of God with greater spirituality and earnestness of feeling."

In 1525 Tyndale had printed the first two editions of his New Testament at Worms, and, to escape Cardinal Wolsey's agents, came to Marburg in 1527, and these two martyrs for a time lived and labored together in the far-away German city.

VIII.

**Hamilton Holds the First Debate at
Marburg.**

"Hamilton was the first man after the erection of the University who put forth a series of theses to be publicly defended. These theses were conceived in the most evangelical spirit, and were maintained with the greatest learning. It was by my advice that he published them," says Lambert.

From them it is clear that Hamilton was a close student of Luther, especially of his "Freedom of a Christian Man," published in 1520. They are the earliest doctrinal production of the Scottish Reformation, and they prove with primary authority that the beginning of that Reformation was Lutheran.

They were translated by John Frith, the English martyr, and embodied by Knox in his *History of the Reformation*, and by Fox in his *Acts and Monuments*, "and so became a corner-stone of Protestant theology both in Scotland and England." They are known as Patrick's "Places," or Common Places, likely from Melanchthon's *Loci Communes* of 1521.

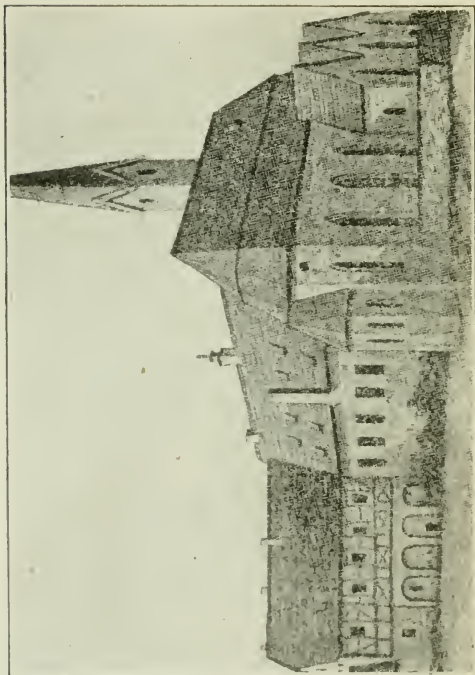
IX.

Hamilton's Theses.

Hamilton's teaching is so beautiful that we cannot forbear quoting samples copied from rare books.

1. The Difference between the Law and the Gospel.

"The Law showeth us our sin, the Gospel showeth us remedy for it. The Law showeth



OLD BUILDING OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MARBURG.



LANDGRAVE PHILIP OF HESSEN.
After Cranach.

us our condemnation, the Gospel showeth us our redemption. The Law is the word of ire, the Gospel is the word of grace. The Law is the word of despair, the Gospel is the word of comfort.

“The Law saith to the sinner, Pay thy debt; the Gospel saith, Christ hath paid it. The Law saith, Thou art a sinner, despair, thou shalt be damned; the Gospel saith, Thy sins are forgiven thee, be of good comfort, thou shalt be saved. The Law saith, The Father of heaven is angry with thee; the Gospel saith, Christ hath pacified Him with His blood. The Law saith, Where is thy righteousness, goodness, and satisfaction? The Gospel saith, Christ is thy righteousness, goodness, and satisfaction. The Law saith, Thou art bound and obliged to me, to the devil, and to hell; the Gospel saith, Christ hath delivered thee from them all.”

2. The Nature of Faith.

“The faith of Christ is to believe in Him, that is, to believe His word, and believe that He will help thee in all thy need, and deliver thee from all evil. Thou wilt ask me, What word? I answer, The Gospel.

He that believeth not the Gospel believeth not God; he that believeth the Gospel shall be safe. He that hath faith is just and good. All that is done in faith pleaseth God. He that lacketh faith cannot please God; he that hath faith and believeth in God cannot displease Him.

“Faith is the gift of God, it is not in our own power. Faith is the root of all good; incredulity is the root of all evil. Faith maketh God and man good friends; incredulity maketh them foes. Faith only maketh a man good and righteous; incredulity only maketh him unjust and evil. Faith holdeth stiff by the Word of God; incredulity wavereth here and there. Faith loveth both God and his neighbor; incredulity loveth neither of them. Faith only saveth us; incredulity only condemneth us.

“Faith cometh of the Word of God; hope cometh by faith; and charity springeth of them both. Faith believeth the Word; hope trusteth after that which is promised by the Word; charity doeth good unto her neighbor through the love that she hath to God, and gladness that is within herself. Faith looketh to God and His

Word; hope looketh unto His gift and reward; charity looketh on her neighbor's profit. Faith receiveth God; hope receiveth His reward; charity loveth her neighbors with a glad heart, without any respect of reward."

3. The Sufficiency of the Work of Christ.

"Whosoever believeth or thinketh to be saved by his works denieth that Christ is his Savior, that Christ died for him, and that all things pertain to Christ. For how is He thy Savior if thou mightest save thyself by thy works, or whereto should He die for thee if any works might have saved thee? What is this, to say Christ died for thee? Verily, that thou shouldest have died eternally, and Christ, to deliver thee from death, died for thee, and changed thy eternal death into His own death; for thou madest the fault, and He suffered the punishment, and that for the love He had to thee before thou wast born, when thou hadst done neither good nor evil. Now, seeing He hath paid thy debt, thou needest not, neither canst thou, pay it, but shouldest be damned if His blood were not. But since He was punished for thee, thou

shalt not be punished. Finally, He hath delivered thee from thy condemnation and from all evil, and desireth naught of thee but that thou wilt acknowledge what He hath done for thee, and bear it in mind, and that thou wouldest help others for His sake both in word and deed, even as He hath holpen thee for naught and without reward. Oh! how ready would we be to help others if we knew His goodness and gentleness toward us. He is a good and a gentle Lord, for He doth all for naught. Let us, I beseech you, therefore follow His footsteps, whom all the world ought to praise and worship. Amen."

X.

Hamilton Returns to Scotland.

Having read Luther, Hamilton became a Lutheran in doctrine; having lived for a time in the element which the great Reformer spread around him, Hamilton became a Lutheran in spirit as well as in doctrine. The sight of Luther's firm courage and constancy gave new strength to the young Scot, and he could not long admire such a shining example of heroism

of faith without himself being converted into an evangelical hero. His friends pleaded with him to stay in safety in Germany; but "none of these things moved him," and he left them behind.

After six months in Lutheran Germany, Hamilton, in the autumn of 1527, returned to Scotland, ready to die for the Gospel. He preached to his relatives at Kincavel, and also in all the country round, even in beautiful St. Michael's at Linlithgow, the Versailles of Scotland.

In consequence of his preaching the monks of Kelso complained of "these evil times, in the increase of Lutheranism," and the Canons of Holyrood bewailed "these wretched Lutheran times."

XI.

Hamilton Marries.

Soon after his return to Scotland, Hamilton married a young lady of noble rank, and a daughter, named Isabel, was born to them. In 1543 she was a lady in attendance at the court of the Regent Arran. He gives as his reason for marriage his hatred of the hypocrisy of the Roman Church.

He seems to have felt on the occasion very much as Luther did in similar circumstances: he wished to show, by deed as well as word, how entirely he had cast off the usurped and oppressive tyranny of Rome.

XII.

Hamilton is Called to St. Andrews.

A Lutheran missionary, with royal blood in his veins, and all the power of Hamilton at his back, was a most dangerous heretic in Scotland. The moment was critical; no time must be lost; Archbishop Beaton must bestir himself. The Primate desired a conference with Hamilton at St. Andrews on the condition of the Church. Before he went, Hamilton told his relatives that he had not long to live. But as Luther went to Worms, in spite of dangers, to confess his faith, so Hamilton went to St. Andrews, in spite of dangers, to confess his faith. He arrived about the middle of January, 1528, and had several private conferences with the Primate and his helpers; he also, for nearly a month, taught openly in the university on all points of doctrine and practise needing a change.

XIII.

Hamilton Debates.

Canon Alexander Alane had publicly refuted the arch-heretic Luther himself, not only to his own satisfaction, but to the satisfaction of all the theologians of St. Andrews. He now wished to bring back to the Church the misguided Hamilton. But the young Lutheran divine proved more than a match for the learned Canon and sent him away to his study shaken in his old faith. He became Hamilton's fervent admirer and attached disciple and the first historian of his teaching, trial, and martyrdom.

Alexander Campbell, prior of the Dominicans, also often talked with Hamilton, and acknowledged the truth of his words. "Yes, the Church is in need of reformation in many ways," the prior said. But later he betrayed and accused Hamilton.

XIV.

**Hamilton is Called Before the
Archbishop.**

When Beaton and his advisers felt it safe to throw off the mask, they summoned

Hamilton to appear before the Primate on a certain day to answer to the charge of teaching divers heresies.

Hamilton's friends begged him to flee. But he said "he had come thither to confirm the minds of the godly by his death as a martyr to the truth; and to turn his back now would be to lay a stumbling-block in their path, and to cause some of them to fall."

Sir James Hamilton, the Reformer's brother, made use of all his powers as a baron, a sheriff, and a captain of one of the King's castles, to gather a strong force to rescue his brother from the death planned by the clergy. But a long storm in the Firth hindered him from reaching St. Andrews in time. John Andrew Duncan, Laird of Airdie, who had fought on Flodden Field, armed his tenants and servants to save Hamilton; but the Archbishop's horsemen took him a prisoner, and he had to go into exile. Appeal had been made to the powerful Earl of Angus and to the King, but the advice was coldly given "that the Reformer make his peace with the Church."

From the moment Hamilton was called

Hamilton is Condemned.

to appear before the Primate and his council, he redoubled his labors as an evangelist and confined himself to the most important points in which the Papacy had departed from the Bible.

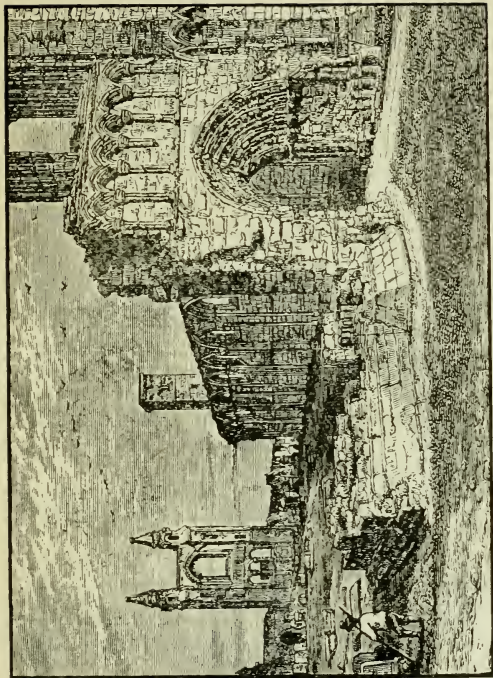
“Being not only forward in knowledge, but also ardent in spirit, not tarrying for the hour appointed, he prevented the time, and came very early in the morning before he was looked for,” says Fox.

XV.

Hamilton is Condemned.

Hamilton's thirteen articles of faith were referred to a Council of Theologians. Seven of these articles treat of the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith; the other six treat of purgatory, auricular confession, etc.; one declares the Pope to be the Antichrist. In a few days the Council judged all the articles to be heretical. This judgment was to be presented at a solemn meeting of the highest dignitaries of the Church in the cathedral on the last day of February, 1528.

The captain of the castle with an armed band arrested Hamilton. Everything was



CATHEDRAL OF ST. ANDREWS,
WHERE PATRICK HAMILTON WAS TRIED.
Ruined at the Instigation of John Knox, June, 1559.

now ready for the last act of the tragedy. On the appointed day the people crowded to the cathedral at an early hour, and the Primate passed from the castle with a long train of bishops, abbots, priors, and doctors and took his seat on the chief bench of the tribunal of heresy.

Friar Campbell read the articles with a loud voice, and charged them one by one upon the prisoner, and argued they were heretical; but Hamilton gently and ably defended himself. At length the Dominican was silenced, and he turned to the tribunal for fresh instructions. The bishops told him to stop arguing, to call the Reformer heretic to his face, and to justify the insult by overwhelming him with new accusations.

"Heretick!" Campbell exclaimed, turning again to Hamilton.

"Nay, brother," the Reformer mildly interrupted, "you do not think me heretick."

"Heretick! thou saidst it was lawful to all men to read the Word of God, and especially the New Testament."

"I wot not if I said so; but I say now it is reason and lawful to all men that have

souls to read the Word of God, and that they are able to understand the same, and in particular the latter will and testament of Christ Jesus, whereby they may acknowledge their sins and repent of the same, and amend their lives by faith and repentance, and come to the mercy of God by Christ Jesus."

"Now, heretick, I see that thou affirmest the words of thy accusation."

"I affirm nothing but the word which I have spoken in the presence of this auditory."

"Now, farther, thou sayest it is not lawful to worship imagery."

"I say no more than what God spake to Moses in the twentieth chapter of Exodus, in the Second Commandment, 'Thou shalt not make any graven image; thou shalt not bow down to them to worship them.'"

"Heretick, knowest thou not that imagery is the books of the laic and common people, to put them in remembrance of the holy saints that wrought for their salvation?"

"Brother! it ought to be the preaching of the true Word of God that should put

the people in remembrance of the blood of Christ and their salvation."

"Heretick! thou sayest it is but lost labor to pray to, or call upon, saints, and in particular on the blessed Virgin Mary, or John, James, Peter, or Paul, as mediators to God for us."

"I say with Paul, 'There is no mediator betwixt God and man but Christ Jesus, His Son'; and whatsoever they be who call or pray to any saint departed, they spoil Christ Jesus of His office."

"Heretick! thou sayest it is all in vain our labors made for them that are departed, when we sing soul-masses, psalms, and diriges, which are the relaxation of the souls that are departed, who are continued in the pains of purgatory."

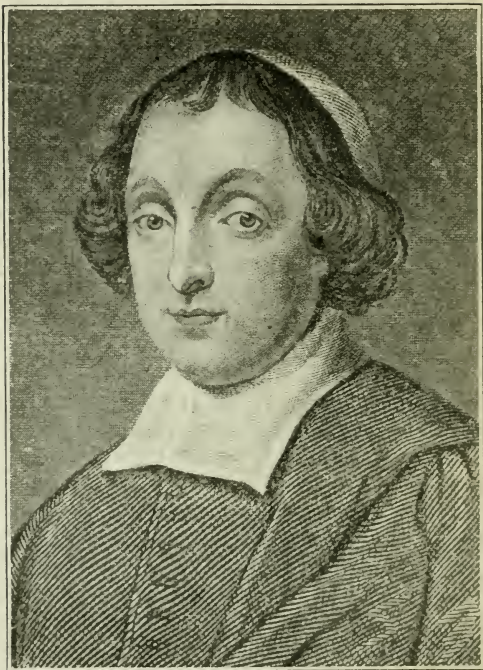
"Brother! I have read in the Scripture of God of no such a place as purgatory; nor yet believe I that there is anything that may purge the souls of men but the blood of Christ Jesus, which ransom standeth in no earthly thing, nor in soul-mass nor dirige, nor in gold nor silver, but only by repentance of sins, and faith in the blood of Christ Jesus."

Turning round to the tribunal, the Prior said: "My Lord Archbishop, you hear he denies the institutions of holy kirk, and the authority of our Holy Father the Pope. I need not to accuse him any more."

Such was Patrick Hamilton's noble confession in the face of that hostile tribunal and large assembly. He spoke out the truth of God and disguised nothing, though well aware what his plain speech would cost him.

One of his judges was the Earl of Cassilis, only thirteen years old; another was Patrick Hepburn, a prior of monks, who had eleven illegitimate children and boasted of his adulteries; later he became Bishop of Moray; another was the Abbot David Beaton. "He publicly indulged in a licentiousness not uncommon with the eminent clergy of his time, and lived in open concubinage with a lady of a noble family, Marian Ogilvie, by whom he had six children." Later he became a cardinal and spent his nights with prostitutes, and his days in burning people for reading the Bible.

King James V "repeated the exhortation in his last Parliament, declaring that the



CARDINAL DAVID BEATON.
From the Original in Holyrood Palace.



KING JAMES V OF SCOTLAND.
From a Painting in the Duke of
Devonshire's Possession.

Hamilton Sentenced.

negligence, the ignorance, the scandalous and disorderly lives of the clergy, were the causes why church and churchmen were scorned and despised."

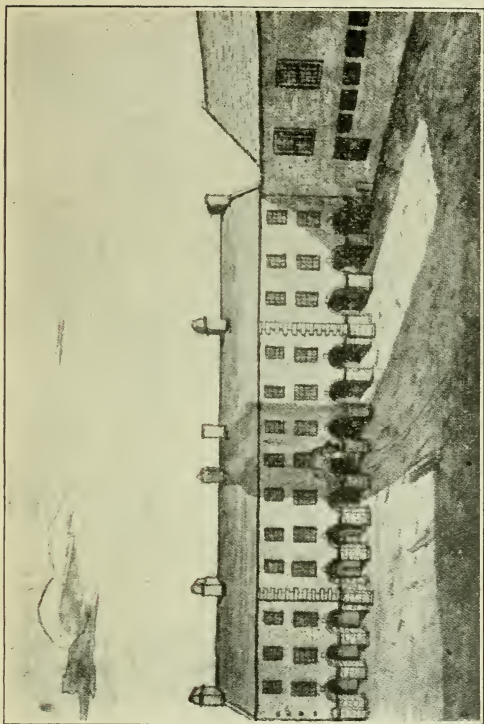
The "Mémoire" addressed to the Pope by Queen Mary and the Dauphin also attributes the spread of "heresy" to the ignorance and immorality of the Catholic clergy.

XVI.

Hamilton Sentenced.

The Primate, with unanimous consent of his assessors, then solemnly pronounced sentence: ". . . We have found the same Magister Patrick many ways infamed with heresy, disputing, holding, and maintaining divers heresies of Martin Luther and his followers. . . . We have found also that he hath affirmed, published, and taught divers opinions of Luther and wicked heresies after that he was summoned to appear before us and our council, . . . and therefore do judge and pronounce him to be delivered over to the secular power to be punished, and his goods to be confiscate."

The tribunal instantly rose, and Hamilton was led back to prison under a guard



ST. SALVATOR'S COLLEGE, ST. ANDREWS,
Where Patrick Hamilton was Burned.

several thousand strong. The executioners at once prepared the stake at which he was to be burned, in front of the gate of St. Salvator's College.

XVII.

Hamilton Burned.

Followed by his servant and a few intimate friends, Hamilton at noon accompanied the captain with a quick step to the place of burning, carrying in his right hand a copy of the four Gospels. He uncovered his head, and, lifting up his eyes to heaven, addressed himself in silent prayer to Him who alone could give him a martyr's strength and victory. The book he gave to one of his friends; his cap and gown and other upper garments he gave to his servant with the words, "This will not profit in the fire; they will profit thee. After this, of me thou canst receive no commodity, except the example of my death, which I pray thee bear in mind. For albeit it be bitter to the flesh and fearful before man, yet is it the entrance to eternal life, which none shall possess that denies Christ Jesus before this wicked generation."

The officials of the Archbishop offered him his life if he would recant his confession in the cathedral. "As to my confession, I will not deny it for awe of your fire, for my confession and belief is in Christ Jesus. Therefore I will not deny it; and I will rather be content that my body burn in this fire for confession of my faith in Christ than my soul should burn in the fire of hell for denying the same. But as to the sentence pronounced against me this day by the bishops and doctors, I here, in the presence of you all, appeal contrary the said sentence and judgment given against me, and take me to the mercy of God."

Says Pitscottie: "The servant of God entered in contemplation and prayer to almighty God to be merciful to the people who persecuted him, for there were many of them blinded in ignorance, that they knew not what they did. He also besought Christ Jesus to be Mediator for him to the Father, and that He would strengthen him with His Holy Spirit, that he might steadfastly abide the cruel pains and flames of fire prepared for him."

The martyr was bound to the stake with an iron chain. Fire was laid to the pile

of wood and coals, and it exploded some powder placed among the fagots. The martyr's left hand and left cheek were scorched by the explosion. Though thrice kindled, the flames took no steady hold of the pile. "Have you no dry wood?" demanded the sufferer. "Have you no more gunpowder?" It took some time to fetch more wood and powder, and the martyr suffered acutely. Nevertheless "he uttered divers comfortable speeches to the bystanders," and addressed himself calmly to more than one of the friars, who molested him with their cries, bidding him convert and pray to the Virgin Mary. To one he said with a smile: "You are late with your advice, when you see me on the point of being consumed in the flames. If I had chosen to recant, I need not have been here. But I pray you come forward and testify the truth of *your* religion by putting your little finger into this fire in which I am burning with my whole body." Friar Campbell, his betrayer and accuser, was foremost among the tormentors. To him Hamilton at last said: "Wicked man! Thou knowest it is the truth of God for which I now suffer. So

much thou didst confess to me in private, and thereupon I appeal thee to answer before the judgment-seat of Christ."

Soon after, Campbell lost his senses, and fell into a fever, of which he died. And so the people looked upon Hamilton as a prophet as well as a martyr.

Surrounded and devoured by fierce flames, Hamilton still remembered his widowed mother and commended her to the care of his friends, as Christ on the cross commended His mother to John.

When he was nearly burned through the middle by the fiery chain, some one wished a last sign if he still had faith in the doctrine for which he was dying. He raised three fingers of his half-consumed hand, and held them up steadily till he died. His last words were: "How long, Lord, shall darkness overwhelm this kingdom? How long wilt Thou suffer this tyranny of men? Lord Jesus, receive my spirit!"

The execution lasted for nearly six hours, it being about six o'clock before his body was quite reduced to ashes. Hamilton was only twenty-four years old when he suffered death for his Lutheran faith.

XVIII.

Joy among the Catholics.

The doctors of Louvain with cruel joy thanked Beaton for his services to the faith and congratulated, almost with envy, the University of St. Andrews upon the honors it had earned by such an edifying display of Catholic zeal. "Believe not that this example shall have place only among you, for there shall be those among externe nations which shall imitate the same."

XIX.

Grief among the Lutherans.

At Marburg the grief of the Reformers was equaled only by their admiration. Addressing the Landgrave of Hessen soon after, Lambert exclaimed: "He came to your university out of Scotland, that remote corner of the world; and he returned to his country again to become its first and now illustrious apostle. He was all on fire with zeal to confess the name of Christ, and he has offered himself to God as a holy, living sacrifice. He brought into the Church of God not only all the splendor

of his station and gifts, but his life itself. Such is the flower of surpassing sweetness, yea, the ripe fruit, which your university has produced in its very commencement. You have not been disappointed in your wishes. You founded this school with the desire that from it might go forth intrepid confessors of Christ and steadfast assertors of His truth. See, you have one such already, an example in many ways illustrious. Others, if the Lord will, will follow soon." They did.

XX.

Hamilton's Influence upon Scotland.

Hamilton's youth, his noble blood, his recent marriage, and his unflinching courage moved the hearts of the spectators: "the smoke of Patrick Hamilton infected all it blew on." "The faith for which Hamilton died shall be our faith," the people said.

It was the distinguishing mark of Hamilton that he represented in Scotland the Lutheran Reformation, not the earlier Wyclifite or the later Calvinistic. As a result of the Gospel-preaching, the Scottish nation was born again. Hamilton's doc-

trine lived after him, and wrought with a leaven-like virtue in the nation's heart till it leavened the whole lump. "Instead of the thorn came up the fir-tree, and instead of the brier came up the myrtle-tree."

The skippers of Leith were diligent importers of Lutheran books and English New Testaments; and it was by the frequent reading and hearing of these writings that the people, often coming together under cover of night, were able to increase their knowledge of divine truth, and to cherish and confirm their new and better faith.

Henry Forrest, a young Benedictine monk of Linlithgow, called Hamilton a martyr, and read the New Testament. The Primate said, "We must burn him in order to terrify the others." To the north of St. Andrews, in Forfar and Angus, many people loved the New Testament which was come from Germany. There still exists in that district a village named Luthermoor, and Luther's Bridge, and Luther's Mill, and Luther's Torrent, which falls into the North Esk. There Henry Forrest, Scotland's second martyr, was burned for his Lutheran faith, as "equal in iniquity with Master Patrick Hamilton."

Alexander Stratoun, Laird of Lauriston, read the New Testament in English to his brother David, who was the first layman to be burned for his faith, August 27, 1534, on Calton Hill, Edinburgh.

When the peddlers of indulgences came around to sell forgiveness of sins for cold cash, the Vicar of Dollar said to his people: "I am bound to speak the truth to you; this is but to deceive you. There is no pardon for our sins that can come to us either from Pope or any other, but solely by the blood of Christ."

He was accused of the crime of preaching the Bible to the people. The Bishop was lazy and lenient, and urged, if the Vicar preached so much, the people might get the notion into their heads the Bishop ought also to preach. "It is enough for you, when you find any good epistle or any good gospel, that setteth forth the liberty of the Church, to preach that and let the rest alone."

Forret replied he did not know of any ill gospel or epistle, in either Old or New Testaments which he had read, but if his lordship would point out any evil parts, he would omit them, and preach only the good.

"Nay, brother Thomas, my joy, that I cannot do, for I thank God I never knew either the Old or New Testament. I will know nothing but my breviary and pontifical. But go your way, and leave these fancies alone, else you will repent it when you cannot mend it."

Forret would not be silenced, and he was burned ten years after Patrick Hamilton. As the fiery chariots bore his soul aloft, he prayed portions of the Psalms telling his faith in God and hope of glory.

No fewer than nine Black Friars of St. Dominic endured exile or death from 1528 to 1544. The first of these to preach the Gospel was Alexander Seyton, confessor of the young King James V. He spoke plainly in the confessional to the immoral King, and in the pulpit against immoral bishops. Of course, he had to flee for his life. He became chaplain of the Duke of Suffolk in England, and was succeeded by John Willock, another Scotch exile.

Kennedy, a young man of Ayr, not yet eighteen, "of an excellent ingyne in Scottish poesy," was arrested for heresy in 1539, and with Jerome Russell was burned.

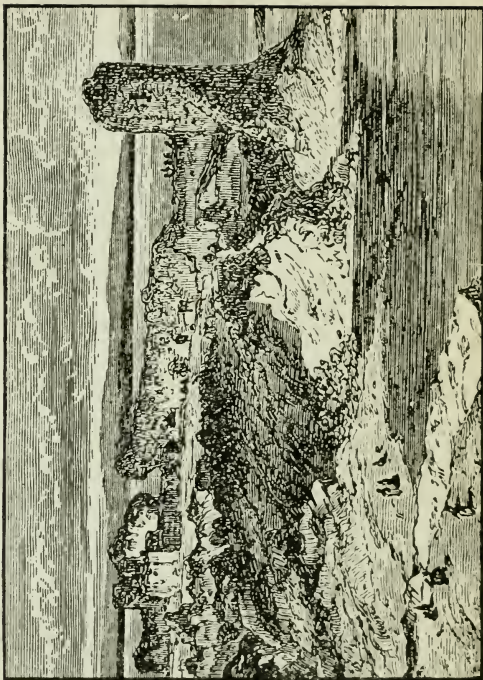
John Erskine, the Laird of Dun, was

married at what people in those times called the "perfect age of fourteen years." From his travels abroad he brought with him a learned Frenchman, Petrus de Marsiliers, to introduce Greek into Montrose. Erskine became an ardent reformer and, though a layman, a Superintendent, or Bishop of the Kirk. He placed the crown on the head of King James VI in 1567 at Stirling.

George Wishart and Andrew Melville learned Greek at Erskine's school at Montrose, and for teaching the Greek New Testament there George Wishart was accused of heresy and exiled; in 1545 he was burned to death at St. Andrews. As a result of this, Cardinal David Beaton was murdered in the Castle of St. Andrews the next year.

Robert Richardson of St. Andrews became a Lutheran preacher soon after 1530 in England under Thomas Cromwell, Prime Minister to Henry VIII.

In 1532 "there was ane greit objuration of the favouraris of Mertene Lutar in the Abbey of Halyrudhous"; of course, all their property was taken by the King. Two years later in the same place sixteen were



RUINS OF THE CASTLE OF ST. ANDREWS,
Where George Wishart and Cardinal Beaton were Put to Death.

convicted, and they lost all their goods to the King.

Norman Gourlay was burned for marrying a wife. "But if he had used ten thousand whores, he had not been burned," grimly remarks Pitscottie in his history.

Andrew Chartres of Dundee, a Carthusian monk, had to flee to England in 1538, and then studied a year in Wittenberg.

'Way up in Perth, James Resby had preached the teaching of Wyclif, and was burned in 1407. But this did not keep John M'Alpine, of the famous clan Alpine, and Prior of the Monastery at Perth, from becoming a distinguished Lutheran in 1534. He had to flee for his life to England; in 1540 he went to Wittenberg and became a friend of Luther and Melanchthon; the latter called him Joannes Macchabaeus. Upon their recommendation he was made professor of theology in the University of Copenhagen in Denmark, and was one of the translators of the Bible into Danish.

Although another Wyclifite preacher had been burned about 1422 at Glasgow, John M'Dowel, a Black Friar of the University of Glasgow, "a man of singular prudence,

besides his learning and godliness," became a Lutheran and had to flee from Scotland about 1537 to England and about 1540 to Germany, where he was elected *Buergermeister* of a city.

Soon after Hamilton's death, Gavyn Logie, principal regent of St. Leonard's College, a man of high standing in the University of St. Andrews, went over to Lutheranism, and spread the doctrine among his students till he was exiled in 1534.

One of his students, John Fyfe, or Joannes Faithus, studied at Wittenberg in 1539. Melanchthon called him Joannes Fidelis, and recommended him as a professor of theology at Frankfort in 1547.

David Lyne, a Franciscan, was driven away about 1538, and at Wittenberg won the heart of Melanchthon by his piety and learning; and in a letter of August, 1556, the Preceptor of Germany recommends him to John Faith, the Scotch Lutheran professor at Frankfort.

In Dundee the three Wedderburns excelled in "gude and godly ballads," largely translations of Luther's hymns, and these were sung by the earliest Scottish reformers to the original Lutheran tunes. Of the

three brothers John at least had been with Luther at Wittenberg in 1539.

Canon Alexander Alane, whom we already know, spoke his mind regarding the cruelty displayed in Hamilton's death. Archbishop Beaton and Prior Hepburn laid a trap for him by appointing him preacher before the provincial synod of clergy in St. Andrews in 1529. He preached on the duty of the clergy to feed the flock and to set a good example. The Archbishop smelled a taint of Lutheranism in the Canon's officious zeal for morality, and it gave mortal offense to Hepburn, who felt personally condemned for his notorious adulteries. Hepburn put Alane into a filthy dungeon for months, and kicked him on the head, almost killing him. The King interposed, but without effect.

Seeing that nothing short of Alane's death would satisfy the Prior, the Canon's friends helped him to escape on the ship of a German, ready to sail, 1532. He saw two young Lutherans burned in Cologne, and in 1533 came to Wittenberg, where Melanchthon changed his name to Alesius, *i. e.*, the Wanderer, and from that time he was known as Aleander Alesius. He was without funds, and so Luther and Melanch-



JOHN COCHLAEUS.



PHILIP MELANCHTHON.

thon got the Elector of Saxony to give him the prebend of Altenburg. They were kind to the Scots, for their forefathers had sent the early Christian missionaries to the heathen Germans. Later he invited Melanchthon to the baptism of his little Anna.

At Wittenberg he printed two eloquent epistles, pleading with the King of Scots to permit the reading of the Bible in the mother-tongue. Cochlaeus stoutly asserts that these letters were written by Melanchthon, "that Coryphaeus of heresy, that architect of lies." Perhaps Melanchthon revised these letters, as he did the works of many others. Here Alesius became a Lutheran and signed the Augsburg Confession. When Alesius, in 1535, was sent by Melanchthon with a present of books to Cranmer and Henry VIII of England, John Stigelius "pursued him with an elegy."

The King made him a teacher of theology at Queen's College, Cambridge; but he was too Lutheran, his life was in danger, and he left to practise medicine in London. In 1537 Thomas Cromwell used him to dispute against the Catholics "Of the Auctorite of the Word of God concerning the Number of the Sacraments"; it was dedicated to John

Frederick of Saxony. In 1540 Elector Joachim II of Brandenburg made him professor of theology at Frankfort. In 1543 he refused a call of Duke Albrecht of Prussia to the new University of Koenigsberg. He went to Leipzig as professor of theology, and when the news came to Melanchthon at Bonn that the Scotch Parliament had permitted the Bible to every one, he wrote to Camerarius his fears that the Scotchman would be off again to Scotland on the wings of Daedalus. But Alesius stayed in Leipzig; in 1555 and 1561 he was even chosen Rector of the University. Full of honors, he died March 17, 1565.

Soon after Hamilton's death, Sir James Scrymgeour, Constable of Dundee and hereditary standard-bearer of the kingdom, stood forward as a fearless defender of oppressed Lutherans, and frankly told the mitred Prior Patrick Hepburn how gladly he would have foiled the cleric's cruel designs. This was an important accession to the cause of the Reformation, since Sir James was connected with powerful families, and these became associated with the Reformation.

John Andrew Duncan, Laird of Airdie,

who had tried to rescue Hamilton, became a Lutheran, and greatly influenced the old families of Fife and Perthshire, where Paul Craw, the Bohemian Hussite, and James Resby, the English Wyclifite, had been burned for preaching the Gospel.

Henry Balnaves studied at Cologne, and, of course, became acquainted with the Lutheran Reformation. In 1543 he was appointed Secretary of State and Keeper of all the Seals of our Lady the Queen. At this time he was already a Reformer of long standing and very useful to the cause. In 1538 he was marked out for vengeance, and escaped only by the sudden death of Thomas Scott, who had plotted to kill him.

Sir David Lindsay, the great poet-reformer of Scotland, was roused when the alarm of the advent of Lutheranism and the voice of Hamilton's martyr testimony rang loud through the land. His "Dreme," and "Complaint," and "Testament and Complaint," and "The Three Estates" greatly served the Reformation.

George Buchanan, tutor to James VI, in his "Somnium," "Palinodia," and "Franciscanus," pungent and powerful satires in purest Latin, was a vast help to the Refor-

mation. Even the King could not shield him from the vengeance of his clerical enemies, and he had to flee to England.

Sir James Hamilton, Patrick's elder brother, was excommunicated and banished, and his lands and goods confiscated to the crown. His sister Katherine appeared before the tribunal in the Church of Holyrod, and pleaded her own cause with great spirit and courage. "Being questioned on the point of justification by works, she answered simply that she believed no person could be saved by his works. Master John Spence, the lawyer, held a long discourse with her about that purpose, telling her that there were divers sorts of works — works of congruity and works of condignity; in the application whereof he consumed a long time. The young woman growing thereupon into a chafe, cried out, 'Work here, work there, what kind of working is all this? I know perfectly that no works can save me but the works of Christ, my Savior!'" The King was sitting on the bench and laughed heartily at her answer; yet, taking the gentlewoman aside, he moved her to recant her opinions. She granted to his princely entreaties what she had stoutly

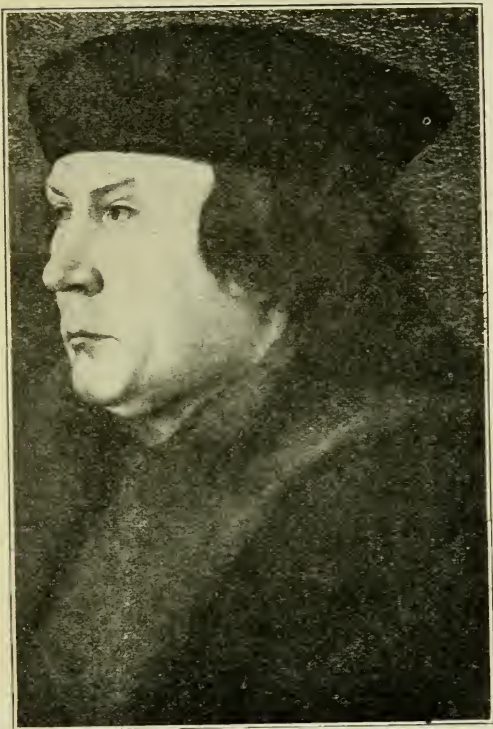
refused to the lawyer's arguments and sophistical distinctions, and professing her submission to the authority of the Church, she was allowed to escape.

But she again became a Lutheran, for in 1539 we find her mentioned in a letter of the Duke of Norfolk, the English governor of Berwick, as having been a fugitive in that city "for a good season, and she dare not return for holding our ways."

She was not the only fugitive from Scotland for her religion, for Norfolk reports to Cromwell that every day there came to him "some gentlemen and some clerks, fleeing out of Scotland for reading the Scripture in English, saying that if they were taken, they should be put to execution."

Lord Ruthven was "a stout and discreet man in the cause of God." John Stewart, son of that Lord Methven who married the Dowager Queen Margaret, "was a professor of the truth" and was "convict of heresy."

William Hay, Earl of Errol, "was learned both in humanity and divinity, and specially well versed in the New Testament. He would rehearse, word by word, the choicest sentences, specially such as served to establish solid comfort in the soul by faith in



THOMAS CROMWELL.
Holbein.

Christ. He suffered much for the cause of Christ."

Sir John Borthwick, a scholar and soldier, a theologian and courtier, was a Lutheran, and tried to convert King James V to Lutheranism. In 1540 he was accused of having "divers books suspected of heresy, including the New Testament in English, Oecolampadius, Melanchthon, and several treatises of Erasmus"; he was excommunicated and burned in effigy in St. Andrews.

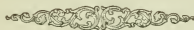
On St. Paul's Day, January 25, 1543, at Perth, Robert Lamb, James Hunter, William Anderson, and James Ranaldson were hanged. While in labor, Mrs. Ranaldson refused to pray to the Virgin Mary, and therefore was denied the comfort of being hanged from the same beam with her husband, but was drowned, after she had given her new-born babe to a friend.

The Dominican Monastery of Stirling had the signal distinction of giving three martyrs to the Reformation. One of these was John Rough, "the first man from whom John Knox received any taste of the truth," and in him the religious life, which received its first impulse from Patrick Hamilton, linked itself on to the work of John Knox.

The most striking and impressive proof of the progress of the Reformation made in Scotland at the close of the Hamilton period was shown in the passing of the Act of Parliament, March 15, 1543, introduced by Lord Maxwell, which ordained "that it should be lawful to every man to use the benefit of the translation which then they had of the Bible and New Testament, together with the benefit of other treatises containing wholesome doctrine."

Fires flared up afresh, and Walter Mill was burned at St. Andrews in 1558; but he was the last, and the law to permit the reading of the Bible was never repealed.

In view of the influence of Luther on Scotland, Professor A. F. Mitchell says: "Our native country owes a debt of gratitude which its historians have hitherto been slow to acknowledge."



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